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This paper examines the findings of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project, which examined the special training needs of teachers in newly desegregated classrooms. Ethnographic research investigated how teachers' instructional and management strategies and features of the school context that impact the classroom can promote both learning and social integration. Five hundred hours of classroom observations, interviews, and teachers' daily reports provided the data for a multidisciplinary analysis that considered a broad range of issues, from student-teacher interactions to district policy. The findings identified policy salients for desegregation planning. Recommendations are made for inservice training needs in pluralistic classrooms. (Author/MK)

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Multi- Ethnic School Environments

CONFRONTING DIVERSITY:

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF TEACHER
TRAINING NEEDS IN NEWLY DESEGREGATED
SCHOOLS

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May 1980

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This paper presents portions of the findings from the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project. The reports of the first 18 months of the project will be available from the National Institute of Education, or may be obtained by writing to:

Multiethnic School Environments Project

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This paper reports the findings of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project, which examines the special training needs of teachers in newly desegregated classrooms. Ethnographic research investigated how teachers' instructional and management strategies, and features of the school context which impact the classroom can promote both learning and social integration.

Five hundred hours of classroom observations, interviews, and teachers' daily reports provided indepth data for a multidisciplinary analysis that considered a broad range of issues, from student-teacher interactions to district policy. The findings identify policy salients for desegregation planning. Recommendations are made about inservice training needs to pluralistic classrooms.

DESCRIPTORS

Educational Ethnography

Desegregation

School Socialization

Staff Development

INTRODUCTION

When a school district, voluntary or under court order, begins to implement a new desegregation plan, most efforts are typically devoted to administrative procedures and public relations activities aimed at preparing administrators as well as the total community for the impending plan implementation. Usually the training needs of teachers and other support staff who must effectively work with a new student population are addressed haphazardly, if at all. They are often unprepared or ambivalent about the most appropriate strategies to use when faced with these new instructional challenges.

This paper reports some of the insights and issues raised by the findings of the first phase of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Study (MESE), a multiyear research effort funded by the National Institute of Education. The study was designed to identify both the special needs of teachers of racially/ethnically diverse students and the features of the school situation that inhibit or promote learning and social integration.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Programmatic models for assuring equal educational opportunity would move schools through desegregation (mixing of formerly isolated students of different ethnic backgrounds) to social integration (the sharing of values and the reduction of social distance). Such models suggest correctives to the well-documented detrimental effects of minority-group isolation (Kline, 1969; Jackson, 1973; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976).

Findings from educational research can provide guidance for designing effective instructional practices (Stallings, 1978), classroom management practices (Brophy and Evertson, 1976), and environments that promote equal status interactions (Cohen and Roper, 1972; Katz, Goldston, and Benjamin, 1958; Johnson

and Johnson, 1978). However, extensive reviews of desegregation studies by St. John (1975), Cohen (1975) and Weinberg (1977) have produced equivocal results. Practitioners cannot, at this point, rely upon aggregated findings to solve the staff development and evaluation needs specific to their community, school, and classroom settings.

Much research has been devoted to documenting ways that minorities are penalized in their educational careers because of culturally-derived characteristics, orientations, or interactional styles. In addition to issues of blatant prejudice, crosscultural communication is fraught with difficulties that arise from misunderstanding and/or negative evaluation. Barna (1972) suggests five sources of these problems: language, nonverbal behavior, stereotyped expectations, hasty evaluations of the meaning of interactions without considering the intended meanings, and anxiety. While vehemently disagreeing about causes and resolutions of the phenomena, Bernstein (1971) and Labov (1978) have both demonstrated ways that linguistic behavior maintains social stratification among students. Interactional competencies, such as knowing when it is appropriate to talk, are culture bound (Boggs, 1972; Phillips, 1972). Interactional stumbles (Bremme and Erickson, 1978), placement in ability groups (Rist, 1973) and assessments of students' intelligence, readiness and maturity (Cicourel, et al., 1974; McDermott, 1974, 1976) can be the by-products of evaluations based on interactional styles.

Recent work on the existence of ethnic preferences for different cognitive styles (Ramirez and Casteneda, 1974) suggests that learning as well as values and communication styles can create interactional troubles. Interactional troubles caused by racial, ethnic, and class differences may account for some of the attributions teachers make about students, which in turn result in negative expectations about students' abilities or motivations. The controversial Pygmalion effect (Rosenthal and Jackson, 1968) has called attention to the existence of self-fulfilling prophecies, i.e., a teacher's expectations of student performance

cause their own fulfillment because of conscious or unconscious differential treatment on the part of the teacher. While the results of subsequent studies have qualified the generalizability of this phenomenon (see reviews by Brophy and Good, 1974; and Cooper, 1979), there is little doubt that minority students must contend with the adverse effects of discrimination. Riles (1970) found that white teachers held moderately low to very low expectations for the academic success of black, Mexican-American, and other low-income students. Fuchs and Havighurst (1972) found that two-thirds of the teachers of Native-American children who were sampled shared prevalent stereotypical conceptions about Native-Americans.

Another well documented problem in desegregating schools is the disproportionately high incidence of referral, suspension, expulsion, and other disciplinary actions involving minority-group students. The Children's Defense Fund (1975) and NIE Safe School Study (1978) have suggested that in addition to racism, other sources of the problem include ineffective communication between staff and students, lack of appropriate technical training enabling staff to deal meaningfully with minority-group students, ineffective counseling services, culturally biased curriculum, and outmoded methods for reducing student misbehavior.

Yet disciplinary problems represent only the tip of the iceberg in terms of both the existence and impact of social isolation on minorities in desegregated schools. Donnelly (1970) noted the pervasive alienation of minority students in desegregated schools. McBurnette and Kunetka (1976) found that personal isolation of students resulted in higher frequency of physical and verbal harassment from members of different ethnic groups, while Clark (1950, 1955) demonstrated that group isolation leads to socially disruptive relations between white and minority groups. Since alienated students are not motivated by commitment to the long-range goals of education, they develop other allegiances to provide stimulation and rewards. In settings where teachers must compete with strongly-held student

agendas, the time available for instruction and the quality of educational practices must suffer.

In light of the issues discussed above, the purpose of this study is to look at desegregating classrooms in order to identify what preparation or training teachers may require to meet the needs of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. To do this we have examined the way several elementary school teachers have tried to create classroom environments that they believe will help overcome the many social processes that contribute to social inequality. The discussion that follows explains the ways these classroom systems were examined.

DESIGN

The goal of the inquiry was the generation of hypotheses about teacher training needs specific to desegregating classrooms. While the project was small in scale (four classrooms), it was broad in scope. This exploratory study had to encompass the wide range of concerns that are endemic to school life--e.g., school climate, instructional procedures, classroom management, moral socialization, institutional operations, and interpersonal interactions. Yet data on each of these areas had to be of sufficient detail to be meaningfully assessed.

The design developed to meet these needs emphasized narrative data from multiple sources (ethnographic field notes, narrative chronicles of the stream of classroom events, interviews, and audiotaped self reports from teachers) that could be examined in raw form for a variety of purposes. Multiple approaches to analysis were employed--using ethnographers, the research staff, and analysts/consultants--to cull various themes from the data: teacher decision making, moral socialization, socioemotional development of students, and administrative issues. All of these themes converged on the issue "What training needs might teachers of newly desegregated classrooms require?" The conclusions of the study are to be validated through a second, more specifically focused study to be conducted in another setting.

The study was conducted in a California school district that was implementing its first year of a voluntary desegregation plan under a court order to end racial isolation in its schools. Isolated schools included some that had been up to 99 percent black, white, or Hispanic (Mexican American). Four classrooms were selected from volunteer teachers to provide representative combinations of teacher and student populations. The four consisted of: a black teacher in a predominantly black school; a white teacher in a predominantly black school; a white teacher in a predominantly white school; and a Hispanic teacher in a predominantly Hispanic school.

Ethnographic observers were trained by the project staff to rapidly produce detailed field notes of classroom interactions. All observers were required to achieve rigorous reliability criteria using both film clip tests and comparisons of ethnographers' note taking in the field with the trainer's notes on the same events.

Teachers' collaboration in the research was essential to the study. Initially, during indepth interviews the teachers' educational philosophies, instructional techniques, disciplinary practices, experiences with multiethnic classrooms, expectations about their students, perceptions of staff morale, and attitudes toward the district's desegregation plan provided the basis for examining the relationship between teacher plans and practices.

Each classroom was observed all day for 25 consecutive days over six weeks in the early fall of 1978. Ethnographers recorded notes on classroom interactions in ten-minute segments, and completed their notes for five minutes while summarizing the intervening event. At the end of the school day, the ethnographers audiotaped the day's report, enlarging the field notes into comprehensive narratives of the day's events. These descriptive natural histories captured the flow of classroom events over time as well as accounted for conditions, events, and interactions outside the classroom. The observers also followed the

students onto the playground or the teachers into the lounge. In separate, informal reports, the observers reported information from sociograms, meetings, and conversations with students and school staff.

During the data collection period, teachers generated audiotaped reports, both at the end of each day and in weekly retrospectives, about significant occurrences. They were provided a set of questions to guide them in describing instructional activities as well as what was learned about the students and their own feelings, sources of frustration, and plans for future strategies.

At the conclusion of the classroom observation period, each ethnographer spent one week reporting summaries of trends, patterns, and critical incidents pertaining to the teacher's instructional style, classroom management practices, the atmosphere of the classroom, the quality of interactions among students, the problems that arose, instances of social ostracism, and the relationship between the teacher and the school administration. The ethnographers and research staff met to generate lists of (1) teacher skills in dealing with pluralistic classrooms, and (2) educational and interactional problems directly or indirectly resulting from the teaching techniques used. Following the field period, the teachers were again interviewed about the events of the preceding six weeks, at which time they offered their insights into questions and issues raised by the ethnographers.

RESULTS

The primary focus of the findings presented here is to evaluate the efforts of teachers to resocialize their students to achieve a positive desegregated experience. In this context, school socialization was viewed from a number of vantage points: institutional arrangements, pedagogical practices, human relations, value inculcation, social stratification, etc. Each of these topics was felt to be germane to an examination of the preparation teachers and students need in order to grapple successfully with the impact of desegregation on their lives.

The following themes drawn from the study findings will be discussed:

1. The teachers' responses to the impact of desegregation upon their instructional and classroom management practices.
2. The factors either contributing to success or precipitating problems for teachers.
3. Critical issues concerning teacher training needs and administrative responsibility in desegregated schools.

In order to provide the reader with some sense of the classroom contexts observed, these findings will be preceded by descriptions of the schools, teachers, and dynamics of the classrooms. Comprehensive case studies of the classrooms have been produced (Beckum and Dasho, 1979a, 1979b); however, in the present context only a "thumbnail" sketch can be presented. All names used are fictitious.

Brief Sketches of the Four Classrooms Studied

Mr. Williams' Classroom. La Cumbre School is located in the predominantly lower middle-class black area of the district and was considered one of the most difficult sites to desegregate because of fear about the neighborhood. The 257 students were served by 12 teachers, of which Mr. Williams was one of only two men and two blacks. La Cumbre School was part of a cluster arrangement. Through this arrangement, white primary-grade students at other schools in the cluster were encouraged to transfer to a predominantly white school. Primary grade transfers had resulted in an increase of the nonblack student population in his school--from one percent the previous year to 20 percent at the beginning of the year of the MESE study. Mr. Williams' classroom was a fourth/fifth grade combination, and since the plan was not designed to produce an influx of white students all students in his classroom were black.

Mr. Williams is in his midthirties, with 11 years teaching experience, all with minority students. He considered himself a strict and traditional teacher. His curriculum was largely determined by the school-wide skill subject series.

Small-group instruction and individualized workbook seatwork were the main instructional modes. There were virtually no enrichment activities. Mr. Williams' strategy/style was to prepare students with basic skills. He expected students to be mature and responsible, and attempted to treat them as "young adults."

His classroom management practices did not emphasize systematic rewards or punishments. He did not believe that rewards were necessary unless there were problems, and he dealt with most off-task behavior by low-keyed admonishments or displays of firmness. He used praise for good academic performance. Classroom routines were simple: students regularly shifted between small-group instruction and seatwork--going to the aide or the teacher when they needed help--and lined up to go out to recess.

Mr. Williams was in favor of true desegregation, but was very disturbed about the district's plan, which he felt did not provide equal opportunities for minority students. His teaching, however, did not address multicultural education, nor did he attempt to prepare students emotionally for social integration. His relationship with the principal was guarded, and little communication was in evidence between them.

Ms. Baker's Classroom. The Jefferson School had been a 90 percent black school the previous year, but was then designated a Fine Arts Magnet with a program for gifted students. By October the black student population had been reduced to 65 percent of the 222 students. The small faculty of eight was augmented by a variety of ESAA funded resources, including a math lab and resource teacher, a social adjustment teacher, and a fine arts instructor. The school was located in a neighborhood containing both well-tended homes and abandoned houses that were in the path of a proposed freeway.

Ms. Baker is white and in her late forties, with 25 years of teaching experience--11 in schools, with predominantly minority students. This was her first year in this school and hers was the only sixth grade class. Ms. Baker's room

had 23 black, three white, one Native-American, and two Mexican-American students at the beginning of the year. By November, these numbers had changed, respectively, to eighteen, four, one, and four. Ms. Baker placed a good deal of faith in her use of behavior modification techniques to motivate students and in her ability to devise alternative strategies for "teaching the child, not the subject." Ms. Baker and her aide each taught reading and math in small ability groups, which supplemented the workbook for independent seatwork. Language arts consisted of students writing a daily journal and having weekly tests on spelling words. Other than occasional art projects, no enrichment subjects were taught. Fine arts instruction was available daily in another classroom.

Ms. Baker's classroom management style emphasized positive reinforcement for good behavior. She sent students to the school's adjustment teacher for bad behavior. Students were encouraged to help each other with schoolwork. A weekly awards list announced the students who had turned in all assignments. The reward for making the list was permission to participate in fine arts activities. Candy, rewards, and trinkets were also used as motivators.

Ms. Baker did not implement any special multicultural lessons, although she planned to use a social studies text later in the year that would address cultural issues. She hoped that students would get to know each other through cooperative learning tasks and physical education games.

Mr. Lewis' Classroom. The Hooper Elementary School is located in an almost exclusively white section of town. The neighborhood, more affluent than those surrounding other schools, contains modest middle-class homes. The facilities utilized by the 280 students were similar to those at the other school sites, with the addition of carpeting in the classrooms. Voluntary transfers of minority students from Mr. Williams' school and another predominantly minority school had reduced the white student population at Hooper to 79 percent.

Mr. Lewis is white, in his mid-forties, and has taught for 20 years--nine in predominantly minority schools. His fifth/sixth combination class consisted of 17 white and 14 minority students. Many of his students had emotional problems; eight had been on Ritalin.

Mr. Lewis combined lecture-recitation with individualized seatwork in the skill subjects. Science, affective education, and body work were important parts of Mr. Lewis' curriculum as well. A wide variety of human relations, sensory awareness, relaxation, and imagining exercises were also used to confront prejudice, reduce social distance among students, and allow the hyperactive and asthmatic children to cope without medication.

Mr. Lewis allowed students freedom in the classroom, but strictly enforced student responsibilities. For example, students could talk, move about, and work with each other, but they were not allowed to hurt each others' feelings, upon threat of corporal punishment. The teacher used physical contact and praise to reward good efforts. He confronted students who misbehaved with sternness, threats of isolation, or paddling. He did not stress the use of rewards for academic work.

Mr. Lewis believed that students' prejudices had to be directly confronted. Lessons on the concepts of race, and exercises dealing with stereotyping and racial bias complemented activities in which students expressed feelings and offered praises and criticisms of one another. A classroom business run by students helped build a sense of community.

Ms. Garcia's Classroom. Van De Camp School was located in one of the predominantly Mexican-American sections of the district. It is a small school of 198 students, with one teacher for each grade level. Bilingual programs were offered throughout the school, and the incentive for white student transfers was an extended day program. Because of the small population, this measure succeeded in reducing the percentage of Mexican Americans from 82 the previous year to 79.

Ms. Garcia is Mexican American, in her early forties, and has been teaching for 18 years--the last 16 of which were in predominantly minority schools. Her classroom consisted of 19 Mexican-American, and nine black, white, or racially mixed students. Bilingual instruction was offered in Ms. Garcia's classroom. She had good rapport with her principal and was the head teacher at the school.

Ms. Garcia believed in setting up a structured setting in which students were free to relate to each other constructively. During the time her room was observed, three other professional staff were in the room. This allowed direct supervision for small-group instruction. Peer tutoring was used extensively, and ability groups were used only for reading. Reading was most heavily emphasized, and art, music, Spanish, and Mexican History supplemented the skill subject areas.

Ms. Garcia's management style emphasized responsibility and citizenship. Students worked toward earning 500 points to go on periodic field trips. Points were awarded for good citizenship, attendance, completion of assignments, and turning in homework. Ms. Garcia sometimes lectured students during classroom meetings about their misbehavior, but was quick to praise good or exemplary behavior and good academic work. Well-behaved students were rewarded with classroom jobs.

Ms. Garcia recognized the importance of improving students' self-esteem, and she created a supportive and warm atmosphere. Much of her moralizing concerned cooperation, harmony, and politeness. The value of respecting others' abilities and rights was often discussed, but cultural diversity was downplayed. Ms. Garcia believed in the neighborhood school concept, but accepted the value of desegregation.

Selected Findings

The discussion now turns to a presentation of selected findings that attempt to assess teachers' instructional classroom management, and moral socialization practices in terms of their impact on educational quality and the social integration of their students.

Instructional Practices. Interviews with teachers, teachers' self-reports, and observations of classrooms failed to illuminate any overt attempt by teachers to alter previously-held attitudes about instructional efficacy. No changes of strategy or techniques, and no acquisition or implementation of new skills initiated to better serve the new students were in evidence. Further, the district had not at that time taken an active role in retraining teachers for multiethnic environments. Such district inservice efforts were forthcoming, but were not geared to a time frame that could make such training available in concert with the initial implementation of the desegregation plan.

While teachers did not usually encounter serious disruption in their normal instructional practices, in some instances the academic needs of minority students were not being satisfactorily addressed. Teachers seemed to be inadequately applying individualized instruction techniques. There has been a widespread trend in inservice and preservice training to encourage teachers to allow students to proceed at their own pace. Yet at the same time, pressure to produce achievement test gains makes teachers fearful of deviating from basic skills development. In each of the classrooms teachers used independent seatwork. In two of the classrooms, however, where students worked in their workbooks for most of the school day:

- a. Individual learning styles were not accommodated.
- b. When compared to the classrooms offering other types of instructional activities, students in these classrooms were more consistently bored, fatigued, disinterested, and off task.
- c. Students had few opportunities to interact academically or socially with members of other racial/ethnic groups, although social interactions among friends were common. Therefore, any hope of reducing social distance among these different groups was decreased.

We recognize that much of the teachers' flexibility in independently establishing course content and timetables is seriously curtailed by local and state legal requirements. The persistent and expanding use of rigid criteria for assessing students' competencies creates a climate that discourages teachers from assessing students' individual needs and providing for them. In addition, students who are low achievers in basic skill areas may be faced (as was the case in one of the observed classrooms) with days and weeks of nothing but basic remedial skill activities. The opportunity to experience success in other areas, such as science, art, or social studies, is denied them. So they struggle toward what is, for them, the elusive goal of grade level achievement.

The standardization of curriculum materials within schools and districts has benefits for students. However, it also has an unfortunate side effect when "diagnosis" becomes placement into the curriculum package instead of serving as an assessment of the individual needs, skills, and learning styles of the students.

Teacher Beliefs and Classroom Management Style. Teacher beliefs play an important role in determining which structural arrangements will be adopted and retained. A teacher's willingness to change for the promise of something "better" will be rationalized in terms of the goals that teacher characterizes as the "good." The same dynamic applies (perhaps to a greater degree) when teachers consider altering their interpersonal styles. We feel that experience will support the hypothesis that:

The success of training vehicles will be enhanced to the extent that they present rationales for innovation based upon beliefs and expectations teachers already hold.

For example, among the MESE study teachers, Ms. Baker avoided negative verbal assessments and tried to ignore inappropriate student behavior, while Mr. Lewis valued emotional honesty and directly confronted students about personal responsibilities. It would be highly unlikely that either would adopt techniques that were framed in terms of the other's rationales or value system.

It is significant to note that all teachers regarded themselves as taking a stance reflecting both who they "are" and what they perceived students "needed" from teachers. These perceptions seemed to arise as much from their training as their experience. Thus, preservice training must take some responsibility for shaping the beginning teacher's sense of purpose. Inservice training, to be effective, must take into account the fact that teachers (as any practitioners) will use their own world view as a filter to sort out the information presented. That teachers selectively adopt innovation is well documented by educational evaluators. It also has been well documented by educational evaluators that this filtering process results in selective adaptation of innovations to meet perceived conditions. Developers tend to blame teachers for not implementing a training package in the intended way and that has led to the misguided call for "teacher-proof" packages. A more productive approach would first examine how teachers tailor curriculum or other training packages for their own needs. In this way packages would more appropriately reflect teacher needs, and the recommended techniques would more likely be adopted in their existing form.

Teacher Authority. Teacher authority derives from several sources: the roles provided by the institutional context; the structure of activities and patterns of relationships set up by the teacher to coordinate students' actions and insure deference to teacher control; and the interaction nexus of interpersonal communication. (For a rigorous discussion of teacher authority, see Dasho, 1977b). In addition to a teacher's world view, the styles of interpersonal communication he/she has come to rely upon will influence the ways the teacher manifests authority. Thus, training can provide a teacher with ways of manipulating the structure of classroom norms, grouping patterns, or learning tasks--e.g., the number of control moves a teacher makes varies systematically with the instructional task structure (Bossert, 1977).

However, the teacher may not feel comfortable with the unfamiliar arrangements because he or she can no longer use the same type of interactional style to establish authority. This insight has important consequences when viewed alongside the findings from the MESE study. Many positive benefits of some teachers' techniques and interpersonal styles were observed. These techniques undoubtedly could be transposed into the other classrooms, but the interpersonal styles of teachers would alter the implementation and effects of the techniques. This, in fact, was the case when Ms. Garcia implemented some of the human relations techniques suggested by another teacher in the study. Description of similar exercises in each of the classrooms contrasted in ways of that could be accounted for by the differences between classroom context, the teachers' ways of presenting self, and their ways of manifesting authority.

Although behavior modification techniques were employed in two of the classrooms, the teachers' abilities to maintain order and work production were ultimately based on the personal authority they could command from the students. In fact, many of the possible adult roles available to the teachers were displayed: mother, father, mentor, taskmaster, facilitator, manager, friend, guide, and guru. These roles were evinced through tone of voice and comportment, degrees of individual contact with the students, the amount and kind of order given, and formal/informal talk initiated by the teacher. While some of teachers were clearly more successful than others in maintaining control in their classrooms, it is not possible nor necessarily appropriate to recommend that one particular teacher "role" or "presentation of self" be imposed in all of these classrooms.

Normative Structure and Rewards. Classroom management can be redesigned to foster positive cross-group interactions or provide for group commitment, individual motivation, or control of behavior. Such reorganization would include techniques (a) to redirect or influence the responses of insiders and outsiders, (b) to accelerate the process of acceptance, and (c) to make pre-emptive and/or

preventive interventions in the social structure of the classroom so as to avoid conflict. These techniques are necessary components of a successful teaching strategy when significant changes from typical classroom reward and normative structures are to be imposed. Such a strategy would be based on the assumption that students will respond to the demands placed upon them in the classroom to the extent that they are immersed in and committed to the social norms the teacher sets for them.

This assumption suggests that group cohesion is a function of structural arrangements, norms, and rewards. If students are not given alternative or competing rewards (e.g., peer approval for defying the teacher), then they can be said to be immersed in the new social order. Immersion is thus a necessary condition for commitment to a new normative structure that encourages integration.

In the MESE study, a number of characteristics of appropriate reward structures were identified. First, the rewards for compliance with new demands must be meaningful to the students. For example, Ms. Garcia used recreational field trips as rewards for her behavior modification token program. Second, the rewards employed must be consistent with the value system espoused. For example, Mr. Lewis demanded a climate of emotional honesty. He punished students who ridiculed their peers in the same manner that he punished fighting. He praised students who offered criticism of their peers (or the teacher) in the appropriate manner.

Third, there must be support for the values and normative understandings of the classroom system among the administrators and other school staff with whom the students are likely to come into contact. An example where such support was lacking was in Ms. Baker's school. She tried to positively reinforce appropriate behavior and ignore or isolate misbehaving students. When students continued to misbehave, however, they were sent to an adjustment teacher, whose methods appeared negative and punitive. Ms. Baker's constant reliance on the adjustment teacher

contradicted her inclass modification techniques, thereby undermining the integrity of the desired classroom system. Fourth, students who demonstrate the desired behaviors or orientations must receive praise and support (reward) from the teacher and peers. Ms. Garcia, for instance, orchestrated occasions in which the students evaluated themselves, giving points for appropriate behavior and work effort. Successful students were cheered by their peers, and Ms. Garcia lauded even low achievers who had tried to accomplish their work.

Avoiding Trouble. It is noteworthy that, despite the quite vocal resistance in the community to busing, the climate in the observed classrooms was relatively free of outside influence. Students accommodated themselves to the classroom routines with little difficulty (as evidenced by the lack of confusion, breaches of procedure, and the need for repetition of task instructions).

There was no evidence of differential treatment of students based categorically on race or ethnicity. Subtle differential treatment was present, as in any typical classroom--e.g., boys were the recipients of more behavior control moves from teachers than girls. Quiet students were generally ignored, while "problem" students received disproportionately more of the teachers' attention. Routines were an important aspect of behavior control. Cultural differences or cross-cultural miscommunication were not observed to interfere with students' ability to understand, recognize, or carry out appropriate classroom routines.

Counter to the generally supported notion that teachers should respond to desegregation by changing their instructional and classroom management strategies, such change did not take place. In general, the teachers observed made no attempt to reorder either the structural arrangements or the reward systems in their classrooms in response to student differences or special conditions associated with a new desegregation plan. Teachers perceived no need to depart from their prior methods of classroom management.

While it was the case that a few minority students had strong clashes with three of the teachers, these teachers reported in their daily tapes that their reasoning in approaching the children was based on their preferred methods for dealing with disciplinary problems. Only if they recognized that this method failed to work did they attempt another approach. It would be, we suggest, fruitful to pursue a line of inquiry on teacher decision making regarding disciplinary strategies. There appear to be great differences in teachers' recognition of the ineffectiveness of a given method, their use of a repertoire of alternative strategies, their use of cues to recognize what students require or respond to, and the relative consistency of their day-to-day behavior toward individual students.

Jackson (1968) noted that patience is the most essential virtue for students. This observation could be applied to the predominantly black classrooms. Students often appeared bored because of the monotony of the independent seatwork, or the failure of the teachers to tailor independent learning activities to meet their capabilities. Many students responded by either seeking attention from the teacher or their peers. This response was deemed disruptive and resulted in the bulk of disciplinary sanctions in the classrooms. In these classrooms both low-achiever outcasts and high or low-achieving social leaders were disruptive and considered disciplinary problems. By contrast, in the predominantly Mexican-American and predominantly white classrooms, student disruption was not associated with the structure of learning tasks. In these classrooms, disruptive students tended to be outcasts or students vying for more social power, and did not include high achievers. In all classrooms, however, many of the students identified by teachers as problem children were often identified as potential or actual leaders. This suggests the following insight:

Effective inservice training should prepare teachers to use the social position and/or skills of "disruptive" students to support teaching and learning.

Only Mr. Lewis actively recruited problem students as leaders. Some responded and eventually became highly influential among their peers in carrying out the teacher's agendas. For example, two black girls, who were quite belligerent in class, organized a drill team on the playground for which white girls were anxious to try out. Mr. Lewis capitalized on this bridge between the girls by confronting the black girls' assertions that they were being rejected in class. He then found ways to allow them to exert their personal power in the classroom. Gradually, they responded by becoming "spokespersons" for the teacher in carrying out his normative system. Thus, black and white students were brought together in this classroom through the fostering of socially constructive ways to display leadership.

Beneath the surface manageability of the four classrooms, there were undercurrents of interethnic trouble among students. Most conflicts were between students of different backgrounds: a bused white boy is beaten in a closet by a group of black boys; a bused black boy picks fights with Mexican-American boys; bused white girls form a clique of high achievers who are antagonistic to black girls; a less assimilated Mexican immigrant girl is picked on by black and Mexican-American girls. In each of these instances, however, a case could be made (and in fact was made by the ethnographers in each of the classrooms) that these students were "special cases"--i.e., the students were different in personality from the other students that were bused in, or the students were suffering from emotional disturbances at home. Teachers' perceptions of these and other problem students were stated in terms to those of the ethnographers.

All the teachers displayed surprisingly detailed knowledge of the home lives of their students. Teachers described students' motivational and/or disruptive problems in terms of traumatic events or persistently debilitating conditions at home. The question then becomes, "What is the effect of this knowledge on teachers' decision making?" From the evidence presented in the teacher self-reports, we offer that teachers gain empathy for the troubled students and create special expectations for their academic performance and social behavior. These expectations are frequently lenient compared to those held for other students. It is not certain whether this practice provides the best conditions for student learning and socioemotional development. This remains an open issue, which should be addressed by future research.

The MESE teachers tended to place more importance (at least in their reports) on what they knew of students' personal problems than on stereotypes about ethnic or class characteristics when assessing problem students' motivational or social behavior. Three teachers tried to handle all their problem students themselves and did not seek additional professional assistance. However, as cutbacks result in the gradual loss of resource personnel in the schools, other teachers may not be able to rely on a back-up force of social workers, psychologists, and community workers to deal with the immediate emotional problems of students. Thus, it appears that teachers might benefit from counseling training in techniques for helping minority students whose school failure may be attributable to emotional and situational problems as well as training in distinguishing these problems from those associated with learning styles and abilities.

Inculcation of Values. The teachers in the MESE study had highly diverse value orientations and world views. Their beliefs strongly flavored the moral socialization of the students, and their commitment to their students was clearly tied to a desire to give them the benefits of their own value system. The importance of work, preparation for competition in a white-dominated world,

respectfulness, responsibility, a positive sense of self, assertiveness, proper sex role identification, openness, honesty, initiative, cooperation, strength of character, good work habits, and body awareness were among the values espoused by the teachers. Teachers frequently stated in their daily reports the rationale for their actions, their perceptions of students' needs (both concretely and as a group), and their assessments of students' progress in terms of their own values.

Social class values in ethnicity. An examination of the data suggests that values derived from social classes and ethnic groups will strongly affect teachers' moral socialization of students in desegregated schools. Sociologists have long been aware of the significance of moral socialization in schools. Waller (1932), Dreeben (1968), Bidwell (1972) and other writers have noted that, as a group, teachers invariably espouse middle-class values. These values include a strong belief in the work ethic and meritocracy, as well as a deep concern for politeness, respectability, individual responsibility, and good citizenship. The teachers in this study shared these values to a remarkable degree, despite the great diversity in their lifestyles, ethnicity, gender, or world views. The question then becomes "What potential problems will teachers face when educating students from other value orientations?"

We do not suggest that the values listed above are harmful in themselves. Nevertheless, our data suggest that not all students were able to anticipate, embrace, and respond to the requirements of the teachers' value systems. At least three factors might account for this. Students may not be old enough to be developmentally or experientially equipped to share a teacher's value structure. Minority students may have a competing value system in the home. Students from nonmiddle-class families may not experience a world in which these values have relevance. On the other hand, while teachers can take it for granted that their middle-class students have internalized their teachers' moral source of authority,

this authority may have to be earned in order to be recognized and accepted by students. Teachers in the study adopted a more rigid, autocratic, or stern personal manner and various disciplinary tactics for securing the cooperation and response of some lower-class or minority children. As a result, teachers occasionally deviated from their preferred practices (as indicated by their initial and final interviews). Teachers indicated on their daily tapes instances where they were "forced" to treat students differently. While these occurrences were rare, the potential consequences of these actions need to be assessed.

Teachers' methods of rewarding and punishing students, as discussed earlier, were effective to the extent that teachers understood which reward structures would be most relevant for their students. The relevance of any reward system is highly influenced by the social class and value orientation of the students. While it would be grossly stereotypical to say that "present" orientation versus "future" orientation distinguishes between lower and middle class orientations, it is important to consider whether students in a given school respond to trinkets, classroom jobs, teacher role functions (e.g., group leadership), team versus individual rewards, or promises of future activities. Similarly, a teacher must understand, negotiate with, and be socialized by the students in order to ascertain what are reasonable and appropriate punishments. What constitutes deprivation, ego deflation, harshness, and fairness will differ dramatically according to culture and class. For example, Ms. Garcia found that "sternness" worked well with Mexican-American boys, but only produced rebelliousness in a disruptive black boy.

Another potential problem is that interactional performances may be misunderstood by students or teachers because of ethnic and class differences. While such problems were not perceived in the study data, cross-cultural miscommunication can be a source of problems in evaluating students' motivations, attitudes of politeness, respect for the teacher, interest, levels of concern, as well as their need for praise, criticism, nurturance, and independence.

Multicultural Values. To apply the ethic of cultural pluralism teachers must overcome their own prejudicial attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors; affirm students' individuality and culture; and encourage mutual acceptance among students. Successful application of this philosophy can be achieved through teachers confronting prejudicial and stereotypical responses of students, creating multiethnic role models, and introducing curriculum in which cultural diversity is fairly presented.

To apply these techniques, teachers must first understand theories of socioemotional development. They must also be exposed to the analysis of curriculum for racist, sexist, or classist content. A prerequisite for this is a knowledge of the politics of socialization and stratification and the consequences on socially-disadvantaged and poverty-stricken students.

In the researcher's opinion, the teachers in the study were sufficiently enlightened about these issues. Nevertheless, with the exception of Mr. Lewis, the teachers avoided all reference to cultural diversity and did not explicitly deal with issues of prejudice. Although planned for all classrooms, social studies had not been introduced in two of the classrooms by the Thanksgiving break. These same classrooms had no affective education program, or activities such as classroom meetings and whole or small-group activities in which students could describe their lives and learn about each other.

This lack of emphasis on multicultural issues and curriculum suggests, at least in some cases, that teachers may not need the type of inservices that try to increase their awareness and sensitivity. Instead, motivators, strategies, and materials to further pluralism are necessary. Some reward or recognition for doing so is also needed.

Another consideration is the close interrelationship between cultural and class values. In a society where minorities are predominantly lower class, class-related biases are undoubtedly confused with biases based on race and ethnicity. For example, teachers inevitably emphasize the importance or value

of certain behaviors and attitudes. Yet, how are these moral assessments perceived by the students who receive sanctions for "inappropriate" behavior, attitudes or opinions under conditions where they believe them to be appropriate?

During the observations, students seemed to call attention to class-related cultural differences within their own ethnic groups more than to cross-ethnic differences. For example, the Mexican-American girls sometimes derided a boy who was trying to act like a "chuco" or a "pachuco" (a subcultural strata among California Mexican Americans). A great deal of perjorative talk about racial differences occurred in the all-black classrooms. Students would put down peers by referring to their skin as "yellow" or their hair as too nappy. Such banter may be seen as a cultural method of achieving interpersonal power. This is a relatively benign instance of a long-recognized social phenomenon: oppressed people turn upon their own as an expression of the power they are prevented from manifesting in the larger society. While most teachers are at least aware of the use of counseling techniques, class meetings, etc. for handling most conflicts, few have the skills to address the posturing and bantering that exist within ethnic groups.

We suggest that teachers must be able to use appropriate counseling techniques for dealing with home problems and intra- and interethnic conflicts that affect students' motivations, disrupt the classroom, or interfere with social integration. In these cases, however, teachers' judgments may raise certain ethical questions because of differences in value orientation. For example, if the interaction patterns of ghetto youth are labelled antisocial because they are intimidating to middle-class sensibilities, they will be treated as socially pathological. On the other hand, if these same behavior patterns are viewed as social status-seeking strategies, they cannot be perceived as intimidation, and social distance can be reduced. Consider the increasing number of teachers who have "discovered" only through such programs as Assertive Discipline Training that they have a right to set limits on their students, yet fail to recognize the relationships between

"tolerable" limits, culturally or ethnically prescribed behavior, and value orientations that may have contributed to the existing problems. Training can assist teachers to overcome ambivalence toward interventions or from undertaking inappropriate interventions because of value differences. If the teachers in the MESE study are typical, such training would need to address teachers who are in each of the following categories:

1. Teachers who do not recognize the need for intervention or feel that the problems are not susceptible to treatment.
2. Teachers who are aware of the need for action but are not aware of or do not consider the use of alternative strategies or techniques.
3. Teachers who are aware of alternative techniques but lack the training to utilize them.
4. Teachers with training in alternative techniques who for any number of reasons are not willing to apply these techniques.

It is the opinion of the authors that self-examination and awareness of cultural and class values are important traits for teachers in multicultural settings. Counseling techniques appear to have a role in encouraging tolerance and resolving problems among and between students from different backgrounds so that social distance can be overcome.

Encouraging Social Integration. In the classrooms studied, contact among students was fostered or thwarted by the structure of work and other routines. Because students will naturally break down into cliques--circles of friends and outcasts--teachers in desegregating schools must bear the responsibility for trying to encourage cross-group friendships. This can only be done by structuring cross-group contacts--for example, through (1) structuring learning activities so that they sustain student/student contact, and (2) group responsibility and

cooperation.

Evidence for this recommendation was found in two of the classrooms where cross-racial ethnic friendships were fostered. In one instance, the teacher initiated a seating selection process whereby each student first selected a friend. Then these two students selected another pair from a different race/ethnic group. In another classroom, students had no permanent seating assignments but were frequently placed in small-group instruction and other class activities, thus assuring the constant mixing of students.

These two teachers each used interactional rituals to encourage students to offer self-criticism and to receive criticism and/or praise from classmates. Caring, sharing, inclusion of classmates, and respect for others' feelings and opinions were values and responsibilities that were required of these students. This type of effort appears to be important in multicultural classrooms for overcoming the social distance resulting from custom, prejudice, residential segregation, and simple insider-outsider dynamics. Training would be required to help teachers create supportive environments for students to share feelings about themselves and their classmates. Such training would suggest ways to establish clear and concise rules for fostering mutual tolerance and respect. Forms of classroom organization would be developed to allow students to have physical proximity, and share and study with each other. In these ways, the norms of academic cooperation and social interdependence can be encouraged.

Critical Issues

The District's Role. *What can be expected of desegregating districts under the current constraints of planning time, community resistance, finances, and staffing?* Desegregating districts operate in a politically-charged arena. They must make their plans palatable to judicial scrutiny as well as the client community, district staff, and district financial officers. The result is usually to make the fewest changes while generating the greatest possible display of effort.

Valley City's voluntary plan was designed to create as little tension in the community as possible; consequently, inservice was minimal. Enforcement of any of the "soft" goals (i.e., those related to encouraging integration versus the "hard" goal of complying with the judge's criteria for eliminating racial isolation) was not in evidence. The district, aided by the larger Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) funding, has in the succeeding year begun to look at the effectiveness of existing programs, stepped up and systematized its inservices on effective teaching, and begun coordination of staff at school sites. As opposed to school districts such as Los Angeles Unified, where the school board is asking to ELIMINATE certain parts of its already-limited busing program, Valley City seems to be moving incrementally beyond cosmetic approaches to desegregation.

Despite this welcome commitment from the district studied, current school desegregation efforts still attempt to mix students while leaving whites in the majority. Given that most students in major urban school districts are from minority backgrounds, such population mixes are no longer feasible. Most plans seek to eliminate racial isolation only to the extent of ensuring that student population at school sites will contain no more than 70 to 90 percent of one racial or ethnic group. In addition, with this ratio as a criteria, commitment to desegregation at the classroom level is rarely a stated objective. Even if a plan called for an 80/20 ratio carried over into a typical classroom of 30 students, only six students from the incoming group would join the class. Tokenism has become, by default, a goal rather than a stepping stone to desegregation for urban schools.

Districts found out of compliance with Office of Civil Rights (OCR) regulations in the western region have displayed remarkable abilities to drag their feet indefinitely, making small gestures of appeasement when threatened with OCR and court sanctions or the loss of federal funds. If the next decade is going to be characterized by tokenism, albeit of a better-planned and more carefully implemented variety, shouldn't inservice training address teaching, classroom

management, and counseling strategies that will insure the equality of opportunity of minority students? Evidence from the MESE study unequivocally demonstrates that teachers avoid major problems and continue to carry on to the best of their present skills. However, the enhancement of social integration and the accommodation of differences in achievement cannot reasonably be addressed without commitment and support from the district.

Site Administrator's Role. *What is the extent of the site administrator's responsibility for fostering, nurturing, and monitoring effective programs for desegregated school sites?* None of the site administrators, when interviewed, claimed to have made inservice training that accommodates the needs of a multiethnic population a priority in their newly-desegregated school. While it is widely recognized that site administrators play an important leadership function in determining the quality of education, in the MESE study teachers were neither provided with constructive guidance nor evaluated by their principals.

Although two of the teachers studied had good rapport with their principals, the other two experienced antagonism toward their principals. This hampered morale and interfered with the teachers' contribution to their schools. In one case, the principal disallowed the teacher's human relations program for fear of objections from parents.

In the school year following the study, the district did not renew the contracts of principals at the two schools where morale was low. Yet continuing threats of statewide school-financing cutbacks have placed more principals on notice and necessitated that they have administrative responsibility for more than one school. Under such conditions, the seed of optimum administrative/faculty relations cannot be sown and nourished.

Although it is not specifically addressed in the MESE study, we recognize the need to document the effects of site administrators' leadership. Their actions are essential in creating a climate of confidence for examining teaching

practices and in coordinating school-wide improvement through the acquisition of materials and provision of training.

Teacher Training. *What kind of inservice can be provided to maximize the effectiveness of teachers' support of integration efforts and to foster quality education in an environment that is less than supportive of desegregation?*

Teachers in the study with first-hand knowledge of the conditions in desegregated schools had strong ideas about needed changes and ways programs could be developed to further integration. Yet, with one exception, teachers chose to be passive rather than agents of change. Several reasons for this passivity are suggested by the data. First, teachers may feel threatened and powerless in initiating change in their work environment. Unfruitful committee membership, lack of representation or input in centralized inservice planning, or resistance from parents and site administrators may also make a teacher reluctant to commit himself/herself to change.

This study provides new insight into three interdependent dimensions of teacher training: understanding school politics, understanding cultural and ethnic diversity, and understanding the requirements for facilitating professional growth.

Understanding School Politics. Seldom is the classroom teacher prepared or willing to confront the political realities of the school institution. Teachers who are aware of the inequities in desegregation plans (such as inadequate or cosmetic approaches to desegregation) need help if they are to become change agents within the school. Confrontive teachers cause institutional waves and tend to get caught in their wash. Mr. Lewis, for example, who had been an outspoken critic in his previous teaching assignments, had been embattled in a series of sanctions and grievance proceedings.

While districts might not feel it in their best interests to provide training that explicitly addresses political issues in the schools, such training seems essential for preservice and inservice education. New teachers could benefit

from courses in the fundamentals of institutional survival, teachers' rights, and available resources for school improvement--perhaps under the rubrics of "the social context of education," "staff relations," or "the ethics of teaching."

Understanding Cultural and Ethnic Diversity. A second inservice training need area is understanding the implications of cultural and ethnic diversity in the classroom. Various misapplications of instructional and classroom management strategies and moral education concepts have already been suggested.

The findings of this study indicate that in many cases such practices result from misguided attempts on the parts of teachers to understand and be sensitive to the problems of minority students. A particularly ironic example is when teachers accept the value of "respecting individual differences" while simultaneously believing that "all persons, however different, should be treated the same." The attempt to treat all pupils equally interferes with the individual needs of some pupils. On the other hand, if special programs are required to meet the needs of some students, it is generally felt that time, resources, or attention are not being equitably distributed. Thus, teachers may be aware of the need for improving the academic performance of minority students, but do not pursue the necessary strategies for doing so for fear of seeming discriminatory.

To adequately prepare individuals to teach diverse study groups, it is not sufficient to eliminate inaccurate understanding of cultural differences. Training must also provide concrete strategies that address students who truly have different needs. As we have suggested, such strategies must include instruction, interpersonal interaction, and rewards.

Facilitating Professional Growth. Third, trainers must address the delivery of inservice assistance. In order to facilitate the acceptance of new strategies, trust must be developed between the trainers and teachers. Thus, trainers must become more sensitive to the teachers' needs, fears, and constraints. It has been an implicit assumption of the MESE study that the kinds of insights teachers

need to gain about the dynamics of their classrooms require observation and evaluation processes. Such intrusions can be successfully negotiated and bear fruit only if teachers can be assured that their classrooms will not be disrupted and that the training efforts will have direct payoffs to those teachers--these in addition to teaching practices in general being improved.

For teachers to become willing to be observed and evaluated, researchers and trainers must cultivate rapport. Teachers might first receive training in areas in which they desire improvement. Once such a precedent is established, teachers might be more likely to go through a similar process to learn about ways to more effectively grapple with the work of social integration.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the MESE study confirm the difficulties that have persisted in characterizing the preferred methods of improving school desegregation and under what conditions these methods can be implemented. We offer that desegregation cannot be conceived of as a "treatment." Unique conditions, problems, and training needs exist at each school--even within the same community.

Through this paper, teachers have been targeted as the audience for training, yet the rights, skills, needs, and involvement of district officials, site administrators, classified staff, students, and parents are also germane. These groups' interests must be considered. And in the final analysis, despite the problems of determining who controls the educational decisions that affect desegregation, all of these groups' best interests are ultimately serviced by sincere, timely, and closely examined commitments to quality education and equal opportunity.

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